[GEIDAM]

796 though it was admitted that there were Kanuri who drank water
785 in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in
183 the market-place during Ramadan, but Geidam is too small a town
[369] for anyone to violate religious custom so blatantly. As Rama-
785 dan in 1957 fell in the hottest and most uncomfortable time of
512 the year, fasting, and in particular abstaining from drinking,
is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules.
During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of
a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing
their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an ad-
ditional two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky,
when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon.
[462] From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the
women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to an-
[262] nounce the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities
[272] of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (bəlam). At ten
or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the
[517] day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling con-
tinue on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily
schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest
hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and
at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed
by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night
in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished
in this month.

785 As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked
796

511 Table of Annual Clothing Expenditures of 19 Magumeri Men ø (in pounds sterling)

TABLE XVI

Occupation	Male Clothes	Female Clothes	Total
District Head	150	15	165
Trader (from city)	50	45	95
Head Butcher	27	9	36
Money-lender/farmer	15	5	20
District Scribe (N.A.)	8	6	14
Head of Pagan quarter	4	9	13
Gworongo seller	5	7	12
Butcher	6	3	9
Praise singer	6	2	8
Salt seller	4	3	7
N. A. messenger	2	4	6
Hat maker	2	3	5
Kola-nut seller	2	2	4
Ex-cattle trader	3	0	3
Barber	3	0	3
Blacksmith	0	3	3
District Head's servant	0	0	0

ø All but the Head of the pagan quarter are Kanuri; he is included because of his membership in the total Magumeri society and economy.

Entertainments, Ceremonies, Cosmetics and Stimulants

Besides food and clothing, the next largest category of expenditure in Kanuri households is that having to do with entertainment, 511 ceremonies, cosmetics, and stimulants. Membership in networks of social 431 relations resulting from residence patterns, kinship, and marriage require gift-giving. However, this expenditure is a reciprocal one and 511 informants claim that it balances out in the long run. On the other hand, 796 religious festivals involving special foods, such as wheat and rice, or the killing of a ram require periodic expenditures for all household heads, depending upon their status.

517 In Bornu entertainments encompass such activities as going to dances and praise-singers, tourism and visiting, wrestling matches, leisure talk, gambling, learning and reading the Koran, sexual affairs, going to markets when the individual has nothing to buy or to sell, lis-

• 517 teming to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, require expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or 511 [554] even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two minute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the [833] [524] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now [517] done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may [177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

276 [273] The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts, millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies 276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally 511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expenditures. [302] Women colour their teeth with gworongo (Salonacea Incanum) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for